1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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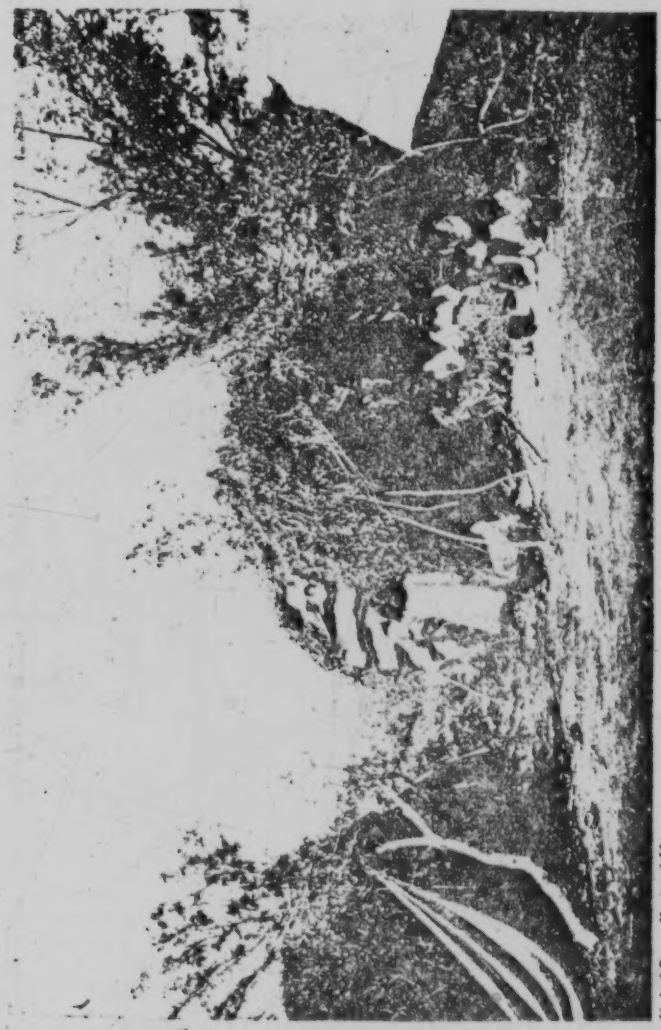

PLATE I

CHIRICAHUA CAMP

United States National Museum

[Frontispiece]
[Facing Title Page - p. v]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(Ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

at the top with yucca-leaf strands. Over them a thatching of bundles of big bluestem grass or bear grass is tied, shingle style, with yucca strings. A smoke hole opens above a central fireplace. A hide, suspended at the entrance, is fixed on a cross-beam so that it may be swung forward or backward. The doorway may face in any direction. For waterproofing, pieces of hide are thrown over the outer thatching, and in rainy weather, if a fire is not needed, even the smoke hole is covered. In warm, dry weather much of the outer roofing is stripped off. It takes approximately three days to erect a sturdy dwelling of this type. These houses are "warm and comfortable, even though there is a big snow."

The interior is lined with brush and grass beds over which robes are spread. Household equipment is utilitarian and minimal. Basketry receptacles include coiled shallow trays, large twined burden baskets for gathering wild foods, and pitch-covered woven water containers. There may be a few clay pots, unpainted and only occasionally incised. There are gourd cups and hide, gourd, and wooden dishes. Surplus food and clothing are stored in undecorated, envelope-like hide receptacles (parfleches). Ready for use are a metate and a cigar-shaped mano (as often as not of ancient Pueblo manufacture), stone and bone pounders, an awl, rawhide or horsetail hair ropes and tumplines, a fire drill, and combs made of dried and folded grass or mescal leaf.

In or around the camp are objects connected with horsemanship—saddles, bridles, bits, quirts, and saddlebags. Conspicuous, too, are weapons of war and chase—the bow and arrows, quiver, bow cover, shield, wrist guard, spear, sling, flint knives, and clubs.

Ceremonial objects—the pottery drum, a deer- or elk-hoof rattle, buckskin bags of pollen and other sacred substances, and the particular paraphernalia attached to the rites of the individuals of the household—are present but are less likely to be displayed.

The dwelling may contain a musical instrument or two not

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

fire pit is flanked at each cardinal point by a flat rock painted red on top. These "stand for" the mescal or century plant, a food staple, and act as a prayer that the girl may find and prepare an abundant supply of mescal in the course of her life. A stone bowl, the mortar for the paints of the ceremony, is set toward the east this first night. This, too, will be moved each night.

The singer rolls a cigarette, lights it with the slow fuse, and smokes and prays. His voice is hardly audible. The attendant, using the same fuse, also offers smoke ceremonially. Then the singer starts to shake the hoof rattle which he holds in his right hand and begins his first song.

The songs of this ceremony are in reality a journey in which the girl is brought to the holy home and from there is conducted symbolically through a long and successful life.

We think of a woman's life as blocked out in parts. One is girlhood, one is young womanhood, one is middle age, and one is old age. The songs are supposed to carry her through them. The first songs describe the holy home and the ceremony. Later come the songs about the flowers and the growing things. These stand for her youth, and as the songs go through the seasons the girl is growing up and reaching old age.

At the conclusion of a song the singer explained:

This song is about flowers. We are taking this girl through a beautiful life. This is the conception of a beautiful life for the Apache. We take the girl through beautiful lands, past flowers, through seasons with their fruits. The translation doesn't mean much, but there is a great deal to it if you think about it.

There is a general tendency to move, as the songs continue, from the more remote and abstract qualities to the growing things of the earth.

The big ceremony starts with songs of the sun, the moon, and such things. Then comes the earth. Then the songs are mostly about the earth and the things that grow on it, about the fruits, the trees, the plants; about even the children. Nothing is left out. . . . .

. . . . On the fourth night the songs deal with all the different grasses and carry them through all the different stages of development, from spring to winter. Then by morning we are through.

The songs belong to two general groups, and each kind of song is accompanied by a different dance. Most numerous are the "shuffling step" songs, and, when these are sung, the girl stands,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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women had to be good and behave carefully so as not to give bad luck to the man. All of a man's relatives were under this restriction.

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When a very prominent man with many relatives has been slain, or when an attack on an unguarded camp has aroused great anger, caution is forgotten. "When we are at war and out for a fight, we go right to the trail and face the enemy in the daytime. We are not particular."

Once a San Carlos Indian cut off a Chiricahua's head, and it led to much trouble and an outbreak. J. was right in the particular Chiricahua bunch when it happened.

[648]

Some Chiricahua had been away from the reservation. The U.S. army men had been after them and had offered twenty-five dollars for every hostile Chiricahua's head brought in. This bunch of Chiricahua decided to come in. They came close to the agency and were eating there. They put J. on a ridge to watch and stand guard. Finally J. was relieved by another boy, a good-looking young Chiricahua. A few minutes later, as he was sitting on the ridge with his gun across his knees, looking in the opposite direction, a San Carlos Indian crept up behind him and shot him. As soon as he shot, he was on this boy with his knife and cut his head off.

The rest of the Chiricahua came up and saw what had been done. They were as angry as could be. They found out who had done this and went down to his camp to get him. But he had been warned and got away. His wife and several children were there, though, and they killed them and left them lying right there. They went out and began shooting into other near-by San Carlos camps. They were so angry they didn't care what they did. Then they made for the hills. And so there was another outbreak.

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But ordinarily rage is tempered by reason, and the war party moves in a disciplined way:

When they start out they have two men ahead and two behind; they have scouts on every side. When they are ready to camp for the night, they send scouts ahead and in the directions to look for the enemy until dark comes. Early in the morning they do the same. These scouts come back and report.

[596]

On the march "the men of each cluster [extended family] stick together near their own leader." But, generally speaking, each person is responsible for his own welfare:

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Each individual usually takes his own provisions with him. He takes some mescal and dried meat which he carries in a buckskin or hide bag attached to his shoulder strap [bandoleer]. The fire drill, if he has one with him, can be carried in this bag too. He carries water in a container made of the intestines of animals. He just ties the ends to keep it shut. He doesn't carry a water jar, because they

I:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

names, in order, are: "Little Eagles," "Many Leaves," "Large Leaves," "Large Fruit," "Earth Is Reddish Brown," and "Ghost Face." "Little Eagles" refers to early spring; "Many Leaves" covers the period of late spring and early summer; "Large Leaves" is midsummer; "Large Fruit" (some call this period "Thick with Fruit") designates the harvest time of late summer and early fall. By late fall the hills assume a color for which the term, "Earth Is Reddish Brown" seems appropriate. Dread of the lifeless winter is expressed in the name, "Ghost Face." The entire year is called "one harvest." "Ten years ago would be ten harvests ago." Periods of time shorter than the six divisions with descriptive names are reckoned from new moon to new moon. "You say so many days from the beginning of the new moon," or, "So many new moons ago."

If food is to be gathered near home, the woman takes her large burden basket and works alone or with her daughter or sister. "They have a little jug to carry drinking water in while they are away from camp. Often they stay out all day. They eat any time they care to." When a long journey is necessary, a larger party of women will set out together. "They go in groups of six or so and keep their finds separately." Should the destination be so distant that the group cannot hope to return for some days, men or youths go along to protect them and to assist in the heavy work.

Through most of the winter and until mid-spring the household must depend on stored vegetables saved from the preceding year. But in the spring the narrow-leafed yucca sends up a central stem which is gathered while it is still green, tender, and without blossoms. Lengths of the stalk are placed on a bed of embers and roasted until they are soft. The charred outer surface is peeled, and the stalks are eaten without further preparation. Thicker stalks are sometimes roasted in an underground oven. A hole is dug in the earth (one is described as four feet long and three and a half feet deep) and a fire is kindled in it. Stones are heated by placing them on top of the burning wood, and the oven is lined with them. The woman peels the pieces of stalk, pounds them or cuts them in half, places them on the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Sometimes the "heads" are carried, on horses, in loosely woven, traylike containers made of yucca, and the sun-drying is done at home. Most of the mescal is stored in the sun-dried, caked state. When a part of a dried crown is to be eaten, it is soaked in water until it softens. It may be mixed with juniper or sumac berries, piñon nuts, or walnuts for variety. The leaves have a pithy, inedible center, but the inner surface of each has a soft layer that is chewed or scraped.

Ordinarily, the woman goes out several times to gather mescal, for she must have enough for general use and for storage. Since each operation—the trip to the place where the plants grow, the roasting and drying, and the return journey—requires several days, this is a busy period. By the time the mescal stalks have flowered and the plants are unfit for use, summer is at hand, and other foodstuffs have made their appearance.

In early summer the locust tree is in flower. The woman picks the blossoms and boils them with meat or other foods, or she boils them in water, dries them in the sun, and puts them away. Then, when she wishes to use them, "she can cook them over again." The first of a number of varieties of wild onion is ready, too. Onions are eaten raw or boiled with other vegetables and meat. Later at least two other kinds are gathered. In the early part of the growing season, too, especially when other food is scarce, the woman strips off the bark from the Western yellow pine, scrapes its inner surface, and heaps together the soft, sweet material.

Though most of the sumac berries are not ripe until late summer and fall, one variety is ready now: "It [*Rhus microcarpa*] has a small red berry which is picked and brought back. The berries are spread out, and the good ones are picked out, washed, and put in the sunshine to dry. After being ground, they are mixed with mescal, and the mixture does not spoil."

From midsummer on, in certain localities, the berries of the one-seeded juniper ripen:

> They have a reddish tinge when they are ripe and fall to the ground. The women pick them up and put them in sacks or burden baskets they bring with them. When they are very ripe, they can be eaten raw, or, if they are still very hard, they can be boiled just enough to make them soft. Another way to use

l:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

In the mountains at this season are gathered the sweet red berries of the algerita. When these are cooked a little, they soften to the consistency of a jelly. A portion of algerita berries is dried and kept for winter use. Currants are picked whenever the women, in foraging, come upon them. Hawthorne fruits are utilized when they are found in abundance, but the dependence upon them is slight. The berries of the alligator juniper ripen in the fall and are at once added to the household stores.

Ready at this time also is the fruit of the prickly-pear cactus:

When the fruit is ripe, while it is still on the plant, it is first cleaned of spines with a brush of stiff grass. It is then picked off with tongs of wood made by bending a branch on itself. While it is still held in these tongs, it is again brushed with the grass. Then the woman puts the fruit in her burden basket, and when she has many of them she takes them home. The fruit can be eaten fresh, or it can be dried and saved. It must be preserved by drying or eaten at once.

To dry the fruits, she splits them, takes the seeds out, and leaves them in the sun. They dry quickly if the sun is strong, but during rainy weather it takes a long time. After the seeds are removed, the pulp is mashed sometimes, and the juice that runs from it is put over the fruit again. It is kept in this caked form, for the layer of juice acts to preserve it. If it is thoroughly sun dried, when it is wanted for use, it is usually boiled. Sometimes soaking it in water without boiling will soften it enough for eating.

Sometimes the fruit is mashed, the pulp is thrown away, and the juice is kept for a drink. It is drunk while it is fresh and is considered healthful.

The mesquite beans are now large and ripe in the lowlands. These beans are used in a number of ways. The woman grinds them to flour on the metate and from this flour makes what can best be described as a pancake. Or she prepares a kind of sweet, thick gruel by boiling the beans and working the softened mass with her hands. She also cooks the whole beans with meat; then the seed coats are spit out when the food is eaten.

Walnuts, one of the important products, are sought at this time:

The Chiricahua use wild walnuts. They carry them around in a parfleche. When they want to eat them fresh, they just pick up those that have fallen on the ground. If the nuts have been there for a while and are dry, they just crack them and eat them. If there are many of them, they save some. In the winter they sit and crack nuts and give them to their children.

But if they want to mix them with other things, like mesquite beans, they do

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

462 313 [283] [281] Men can carry wood, but they think it is woman's work. The women make their own rope out of hide, a special rope. It is about five yards long and of hard rawhide. They soften it with brains just enough so they can tie it. The women use this rope for getting wood.

313 482 283 When a woman is going to get some wood, she doesn't carry great logs. She gets thin pieces of brush and sticks about three feet long and makes them into a bundle about a foot and a half thick. She ties the bundle at either end with this rope, leaving a rather long loop between. She puts the wood in a bundle on her back, and the rope comes over her shoulders and across her chest, or else just across her forehead.

A man could use this rope if he wanted to—to hobble horses for instance. But the rope is put where the woman can get it any time to carry wood. The man uses it only if he needs a rope in a hurry.

312 462 [415] The woman must keep on hand a plentiful supply of water for drinking, cooking, [illegible]ing. She brings it from a near-by spring or stream in a pitch-covered basketry jar.

281 [462] [173] *Tanning and the use of hides.*—"Tanning the hide is always considered woman's work. Men never do it." In the mythology, when Woodpecker wishes to deceive Coyote and make him think he is a girl, he scrapes a hide after the fashion of women. Yet certain realistic concessions are made. "Sometimes a man helps if it is a hard job, a big hide; he helps stretch it because it takes great strength."

The fresh pelt is treated in this manner:

[412] [178] First the woman who is doing the tanning scrapes off the flesh with a sharpened deer bone or a sharp-edged stone. (At present she uses a scraper with a toothed metal blade.) Then she soaks the hide in water for two or three days—not too long or it will spoil. To soak the skin, she uses a basin formed of some stiff hide. Then she takes the skin out of the water and wraps it around a pole. She leans this pole against a tree so that the hide will not pull away. Then she scrapes downward with a sharpened horse rib and takes the hair off. She uses a rib near the neck because it is wider there.

When all the hair has been removed, she puts some grass on the ground and lays the skin on top of this grass with the inner side facing upward. She pegs it out here in the sun to dry for two or three days. If it is lumpy or too thick in places, she works it over with a rough stone to even it up and to soften it at those places.

The process of transforming the scraped hide into buckskin has been thus described:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

281 When a skin is to be used as a robe or a blanket, still another procedure is followed:

When a hide is to be used for a blanket, the hair is left on. Deer and mountain sheep pelts are prepared like this. The inner side is fleshed carefully and pounded to soften it. Deer brains are rubbed on this inner side, and the blanket is worked until it is soft.

When they have those skins with hair on for blankets, they use them any way according to the weather. In cold weather they put the fur side inside.

282 Making saddle bags is also one of the woman's tasks:
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[462]

After the hide is removed, the woman stakes it out in the sun. Sometimes she has grass under it, sometimes not. The hair side is underneath. She leaves it there until it is dry. Then she takes it and puts the hair side up. She has a sharp tool with which to scrape off the hair. Then she fleshes it. After scraping it, she rubs it with the brains to make it soft. She doesn't soak it in water at all. Now she cleans, cuts, folds, and sews it. Then she cuts a slit in the middle and puts dirt in on each side. When the hide is entirely dry, she takes the dirt out. A bulge is left on each side where the dirt was. Then it is ready to be put on the horse.

415 The parfleche or flat hide container is a recent acquisition, and
184 its use has not penetrated to all sections of the tribe. Southern Chiricahua informants say that the parfleche was not made by them, and some Central Chiricahua report that it was not found
[186] in their group. One Central Chiricahua informant was much incensed, however, at the suggestion that the parfleche he described might have been inspired by Mescalero examples:

The Chiricahua had the parfleche, as I have told you. In fact, it originated with the Chiricahua. These Mescalero never went around or found out anything! They stayed right here year after year. They got the parfleche from the Chiricahua. I was with the Chiricahua when they were going from Fort Apache to Florida [1886]. Some of them had parfleches then. I saw parfleches in my own home.

281 The Central Chiricahua parfleche is very simply made. The
282 fact that cowhide seems to be the only material used in its manu-
415 facture points to its recent adoption:
[177]
[462] In the old days we had parfleches. The woman made them, and it is hard work to make one. She has to scrape off the flesh from the inside of the skin and scrape a little of the fur off the top. She has to work around and around, and pound and pound it until she gets it the way she wants it. First she pounds it all

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

over, or it will be too thick. Then she pounds it more where she is going to fold it.

She cuts it the size and shape she wants, so that when she folds it over it will come out even. It is made by folding the cowhide over. You fold it over once, and then again, and then from the ends. The end pieces go on top usually. Some fold the ends in first and then fold the sides. There is no one way of doing it. Next the woman cuts out a cowhide rope and ties it, first the long way and then the short way. That's all there is to it.

You can store things away in it and keep it in a cave, or you can carry it on your pack horse. Bushes and rocks won't hurt it. Rain won't hurt it, because it is made out of cowhide. I've seen some with fur on and some without fur. The Central Chiricahua never put designs on the parfleches. They have them all sizes. I never saw any that were not made of cowhide and never heard of any that were made of anything else.

The Eastern Chiricahua lavish more care upon the manufacture of the parfleche. Two side pieces are made to fit over the bottom, and then the two end pieces are brought over and laced. All the fur is taken off, and designs, "as on the bow," are painted on the outer surface. One informant stated that men cannot be present when a woman is working on a parfleche, an interesting example of the strong feeling for the sexual division of labor.

This feeling extends into the artistic field, and the character of the decoration on painted or incised objects is determined by the sex of the worker. "Men draw things, such as animals, people, and freehand figures. Women do not. I would feel that it was out of place for a woman to do this. She doesn't even paint a star. She would just make certain patterns [conventional designs]. She can do this at any time."

Other hide objects besides parfleches are made by the woman. Awl cases and pollen bags are fashioned from buckskin. Bags to hold piñon nuts and acorns are made of badger skins. These are hung in the home, as much for their beauty as for their utility. The woman also cuts plate-shaped pieces of rawhide to be used "like the shallow woven bowl." In addition, she prepares "a container of rawhide, having the shape of a burden basket, but only half as large" to be used as a water carrier.

The quiver and the bow cover are so intimately associated with masculine activities that it is considered essential for a man to have some part in making them. The woman prepares the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

323 things. They agreed on some reasonable settlement. Some unmarried women [463] got along this way. Men did not assist in pottery-making.
[438]

According to another recital, a vegetal binder was actually mixed with the clay in some instances:

Get red or dark clay and grind it on a metate. See that no pebbles or sticks are in it. Then get a low-growing cactus plant. Split it and boil down some of it. Get the juice from it, mix it with the clay, and work it until it gets to the right consistency. Just work the bottom from a lump and then build the side out of coils. The inside is smoothed out with the hands. The outside is smoothed with the hands too but is finished with a bone. Handles are sometimes put on the sides.

[531] Pots are sometimes designed. They are not painted but are incised with the fingernail. One design is a series of circles connected by a line. Another is a band across the pot with vertical lines on it. Sometimes they put a saw-toothed design on. They also make a clay water jug with lines running around it.

When it is the right shape, they leave the pot in the sun to dry. Often this takes several days. They strike it with a stick to hear whether it makes the proper sound. Then they know it is ready to fire. They build a fire. When it has burned down some, they put logs over it. They put the pots on the logs and keep them there for about an hour and then turn them.

Different shapes are made. There is a tall cooking pot. After it is used for a while it turns black. You can boil things in it. It is never decorated at all. The shallow ones are used for drinking, and some shallow ones are made large enough for food containers or frying pans.

• 415 412 824 In addition to the vessels already described, the woman makes dippers, spoons, and various receptacles of gourds, wood, and leaves:

From Old Mexico we get gourds for carrying water. We use them as dishes too, and you can drink from them. But you can't use them for cooking. The little gourds from the United States are too small and are not strong enough for use.

The bole from the oak tree is hollowed out and used for a vessel or dipper. We use the growths from the walnut tree too, or from any tree that has them. I've seen my aunt use them many a time. For a spoon we make a hollow at the end of a stick. Broad yucca leaves are used for spoons too.

412 To grind seeds and to pulverize foods that are to be preserved, the woman uses a mano and metate:

[[772] Not many women make grinding-stones. They find some which have been left by a people called "the ancient people." These were not Chiricahua, according to the story. They lived in Old Mexico in cliffs and stone houses. We also call them "those who live on top" and "[square] house people." These metates

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

372 We take a little stick of wood about eight or ten inches long. It has to be good solid wood and dry. It might be juniper or sotol. It is shaved thin—to about the thickness of a pencil. It does not come to a real point at the lower end but is rather blunt there.

[824] We have a flat piece of wood made of sotol stalk or yucca. It is thin. When it is to be used for the hearth, it has to be about one and a half inches wide and about eight to ten inches long. The one who is going to work the drill makes a little hole or notch in which to put it at the start, so it won't slip around. This little hole can be at the center or at the edge. If the drill goes right through the hearth without a fire being made, the person can start a new notch.

We go to a juniper tree and get the bark, the dry bark, and get some dry grass too. We keep these tied to the set and keep the whole thing dry. When using the drill, we put the grass or shredded bark around the hole, and some of it in the hole too. If we can't get a fire quickly, we put just a pinch of dirt or sand in the hole. As a man twirls the drill between his hands, the smoke comes up. Sometimes the tinder blazes up. If it doesn't blaze but you see that you have a good spark, you take the stick out of the hole, push the grass close together, and blow on it until you get your fire.

All you need is two sticks and your tinder. These two sticks are wrapped together and carried around, for these are the matches of the Chiricahua, you know. They are carried in a bag tied to the belt or in the quiver when the men are on a journey. Dry manure is used to catch the spark sometimes. Some men can get a fire in a very few turns, but some blister their hands trying to do it and give it up.

372 824 831 The designation of sotal and yucca as male and female, respectively—a concept which figures in the construction of the cradle—is extended by some (but not by everyone) to the parts of the fire drill:

The same distinction between the "he" and the "she" is made when talking about the fire drill. The bottom part is supposed to be made out of the "she," the yucca stalk [narrow-leafed yucca],[17] and the top part, which is spun between the hands, should be made out of sotol, the "he."

372 [415] There are other ways of making and preserving fire. Sparks from flints can be caught in dry pulverized pith of such plants as the elderberry.[18] The flints and the powder are often carried in a buckskin bag, attached to the belt. In wet weather, when it may be difficult to rekindle a fire, a slow fuse of shredded juniper bark tied with yucca leaf strings proves useful:

[17] As the description above shows, this convention is not always respected.

[177] [18] Probably the use of flints and pyrites to make fire followed European contact.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

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101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

[224] [342] [492] [415] [531]

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184 An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

[177] [302] [302]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

MATERIAL CULTURE

It will be understood that a people who lived by hunting and gathering, whose contacts with nature were so close and exacting, and whose food quest demanded much movement, could not develop a very elaborate material culture. The characteristic dwelling of these Apache tribes was a dome-shaped structure covered with grass thatching, hides, or bark. Household utensils included a pitch-covered woven water jar, coiled basket trays, and large burden baskets of twine work. There were dippers and spoons of split gourds, and ladles of split mountain-sheep horn. Metates and manos were found in the surrounding country and brought to camp, or crude ones were fashioned by the Apache themselves. For household purposes the Apache made rock pounders and stone axes hafted to wooden handles. Occasionally an Apache woman made a few clay pots, but because of the breakage of this ware that attended the roving life, it was found to be an unprofitable procedure. On the march these people carried water containers made from the stomachs or intestines of animals.

There was a distaff-type twisting tool which wound together buffalo or horse hair into rope. Ropes of twisted rawhide were also widely used. Long strips of yucca and mescal leaves were used for binding material. Sinew from the loin and leg of the larger game animals was shredded for thread. Women had a special rawhide rope for wood-carrying and some had a special conveyor of wood and rawhide for this purpose.

The lower leg bone of the deer was ground down to make a drill. Later the iron-tipped arrow was used as a boring tool.

In connection with the horse complex, the men made their own whips, saddles, stirrups, cinches, bridles, saddle bags, and even made rawhide bags which were tied over the hoofs to prevent or cure lameness of horses.

For purposes of grooming, combs of mountain mahogany *(Cercocarpus montanus)* and brushes of folded and pounded mescal or sotol leaves were made.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

BOY TRAINING, RAIDING, AND WAR

883 868 147 526 Shortly after the Apache boy reached the age of puberty, his relatives took measures to strengthen and harden him. They insisted that he rise very early in the morning and perform certain duties, such as driving the horses to or from pastures. An older male relative undertook the task of training him at this period. He might order the boy to test his strength against a young tree and pull it up by the roots, or to lift and throw a heavy stone. The boy was made to run long distances up hill with a load on his back and when he returned had to spit out water which he had been given to hold in his mouth at the start of the run. Often he had to race in this manner in competition with other boys of his age, and the one who lagged behind felt the switch of some older man who accompanied the youths. Sometimes these boys chose sides and opposed each other in strenuous mock battles in which blunt arrows and light lances were the weapons used. Foot races, bareback horse riding, and wrestling matches were part of a program as arduous as the boy's elders could devise. In winter the boy had to roll in the snow, and when the ice formed on the lakes, he was taken early one morning and tossed into the water. Often he was made to keep awake the entire night or for an even longer period, in order to prove that he could stand guard over the camps with the men when danger threatened.

702 868 883 Later on, when the youth was about sixteen years old, he entered a critical period of training, designed to leave him an accredited warrior. During this period he had to attend four raids or war parties, not as a fighter or participant, but as an apprentice and servant to the older men. Until he had fulfilled his obligations the boy wore a single eagle feather in his hair and had to be careful of all that he said and did. Moral laxity, disobedience, or laziness at this time would fix these undesirable traits in his character for life. On these first four expeditions he took with him a [415] reed drinking tube and a wooden scratcher, for he could not [271] allow water to touch his lips, nor might he scratch his skin [413] with his nails.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934) 1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

noon of this day so as to prevent rain. The following morning all the mescal is removed. 252

While the mescal is roasting the women are supposed to stay away from their husbands, and if it is not completely roasted when removed from the pit the Indians believe the women have disobeyed; also that the men should have known better. This is somewhat similar to the view held by the Pima regarding the roasting of mescal, for when the crowns were not cooked thoroughly the difficulty was attributed to the incontinence of some of the members of the party (*25*:70; *4*:11). [834] [171]

The pulpy centers of the black, roasted crowns are released from their charred leaf bases and pounded vigorously into thin sheets on a rock. This brown, juicy pulp is spread out to dry on "mescal cradles," very loosely woven shallow or tray baskets made from the leaves of *Yucca elata*, and in these the prepared mescal is carried home. Unfermented mescal juice is often sprinkled over mescal when being dried. This gives it a glaze which aids in preserving it. It may be eaten as soon as baked or dried and stored for future use in hide containers (parfleches). When wanted, the desired amount is cut off, soaked in water, and when softened the water is squeezed out and the mass eaten without further preparation. A piece of crown is cut off and chewed and the inner side of the leaves chewed and scraped, much as we eat globe artichokes. When the pithy center of the leaf is reached it is discarded. Mescal is sweet, having an agreeable taste somewhat like molasses, and a mild laxative effect. [415] [824] [251] 262 [251] [415] [252]

Many are the combinations in which mescal is used. After the dried product has been softened by soaking it is kneaded together with ground piñon seeds or walnuts (at present peanuts may be used) until the whole is of a doughy consistency; it is then ready for consumption. Mescal mixed with juniper berries (*Juniperus scopulorum*) is another favorite food, while the fruits of the three-leaved sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) are also ground with mescal and the mixture dried and stored for future use. Marcy (*18*:201), 252 262 [251] [137]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

273 was issued to them. The Mescalero Apache were reported
648 by their agent *(24:*291) in 1900, as having made no *tulbai* since 1897. This is widely at variance with other reports and studies, however, for large quantities are known to have been made and consumed during that period.

273 Hrdlička *(12:*28) recorded that the Mescalero Apache
[137] formerly made an intoxicating drink from the inner bark of the western yellow pine *(Pinus scopulorum)*, and this was at times mixed with *tulbai*.

Another alcoholic drink among these Indians was mescal. The mescal crowns were roasted as described under the section on foods, and the outer leaves removed. The inner portion was cut into pieces, pounded until soft, and the pulp placed in a pouch made of animal hide. This was buried in the ground where it was usually allowed to remain for two days, although the Indians claimed that the longer it was buried the better it became. When removed from the ground the juice was squeezed from the pulp into a container and allowed to ferment for two or three days, when it was ready for use. Thus prepared, the mescal drink was quite potent. An occasional Apache allowed the mescal juice to spoil (change to a high percentage of acetic acid) before getting drunk on it. Cremony *(6:*217), in 1868, reported that the Apache made a drink by macerating the mescal root in water and allowing the mixture to ferment for several days, after which the liquid was boiled down to produce a strong intoxicating beverage. This use of the root seems unusual for we have nowhere encountered this custom among these Apache.

[137] Similarly, sotol crowns *(Dasylirion wheeleri)* formerly were pit-baked for one night only, removed, peeled, crushed, mixed with a small amount of water in a rawhide container, and allowed to ferment underground about a day, or until fermentation had practically ceased, when the drink was
• [415] ready for use. The concoction was also placed in pitch covered water jars or in wooden jugs cut from trees. Informants reported that the beverage might be allowed to stand for a month before being used. We have not been able to learn